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854 855 163 [164] [536] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me [828] that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by [751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tereré (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

2: Schaden--77 E-4, 5 (1946-1954)1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

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[858] The Guaraní child is characterized by a remarkable spirit of independence. To the extent that his physical development and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the conflict between the generations would be practically null. As the phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait of the Guaraní culture that shows itself constant as long as the latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the human personality and the notion that it develops independently and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned, the Guaraní does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical means. [855] Treated like adults, Guaraní children are more frank and less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age, stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is [857] working on some distant clearing. The little ones spend as they please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling of autonomy and independence /68/ which cannot but lead it to a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

/70 cont./ This is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller, 1919.

Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová, among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has already observed that the reborn is called "Tudjá," old one. At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on. Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn

2: Schaden--227 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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828 /footnote 10 cont./ wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

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797] Among the Nandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts,

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855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

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177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

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553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá [177] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These [178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Educations During the first years of life the child is ordinarily 867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number 593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example, 462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach- [423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.